ne. well, then they drew blood from him [with maguey spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[3] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. None then told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [unsaid] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

874
in aquin amo vellatoa, in amo vel tetlapaloa njman 793
quiçoçonia.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtiloia in cujcatl in quilhuja teucuicatl, amoxxotoca. Yoan vel nemachtiloia in tonalpoalli in temjcamatl, yoan in xiuhamatl. [533]

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel innetol catca in nepializtli, in chipaoaca nemiliztli, in acan quittazque cihoatl, vel innetol catca in tlaixiccecoliztli, njman aiac iztlacatia, vel tlateumatinj, catca in tlamacazque, vel teimacaçini catca, [589]

çan cuel izq'ch, y, nican onmitoa, in jnnemiliz catca tlamacazque, oc mjec in mocaôa in jmitoaia monequj vecã mitoz.

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[3] Probably a life of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, Códice Xolotl (Mexico: Universidades de Utah y de México, 1951) p. 75, Pl. V, and elsewhere for examples of married priests.

[p. 66 is blank]

463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] 463 581 In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,[1] and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he wished for. 463 351 We must not forget the gardens of flowers and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

[1] [i.e., buffoons.—Hunyst]

428 their husbands. Single-blessedness, among the Mexicans, appears
● [589 to have occurred only in case of religious vows, and in which case
784] they fell back for subsistence, upon the part allotted to worship,
or in case of great infirmities, for which the calpulli provided.[111]
No mention is made of the widow participating in the products of
the "tlalmilli," still it is presumable that she was one of those whom
the oldest son had to support. There are indications that the
[587] widow could remarry, in which case her husband, of course, provided for her.[112]

428 The customs of Inheritance, as above reported, were the same
764 with chiefs as well as with the ordinary members of the tribe. Of
the personal effects very little remained since, the higher the office
was which the deceased had held, the more display was made at
his cremation, and consequently the more of his dresses, weapons
and ornaments, were burnt with the body.[113] Of lands, the chiefs
428 only held each their "tlalmilli" in the usual way, as members of
their kin, whereas the other "official" lots went to the new incumbents of the offices. It should always be borne in mind, that none
of these offices were hereditary themselves. Still, a certain "right
of succession" is generally admitted as having existed. Thus, with
the Tezcucans, the office of head war-chief might pass from father
to son,[114] at Mexico from brother to brother, and from uncle to
nephew.[115] This might, eventually, have tended to *perpetuate* the

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[793] [111] Such unmarried females were the "nuns" frequently mentioned by the old writers. We shall have occasion to investigate the point in our paper on "the ancient Mexican priesthood." As attendants to worship, they participated in the tributes furnished towards it by each calpulli, of which we have spoken.

[112] Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat. de Indias," Lib. XXXIII, cap. LIV. pp. 547–553), reports a conversation with Don Juan Cano, held at San Domingo, 8 of Sept., 1544, in which the said Cano asserts that he married Montezuma's daughter, widow of Quauhtemotzin. There is an indefinite report that, when she married Quauhtemotzin, she was already the widow of Cuitlahuatzin. Intermarriage of widowers and widows took place in Yucatan, but without any ceremony. See Landa, "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan." Paris, 1864, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 142, §XXV.

[113] See note No. 108, the same quotations apply to this case. Besides, we refer to the numerous descriptions of funeral rites, or rather cremations, contained, for instance, in Durán, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, Veytia, and in Bustamantes "Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Also to the cremation of the head chief of Michhuacan, as related by Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XLI. pp. 164–167). We abstain from special quotations, the subject being amply discussed in all the authors just mentioned.

[114] Zurita (p. 12). Gomara (Vedia I, p. 434). Torquemada (Lib. IX, cap. IV. p. 177. Lib. XI, cap. 27, p. 336, etc. etc.).

[115] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. We reserve it for final discussion in our proposed paper on the chiefs of the Mexicans, and the duties, powers and functions of their office.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes *a class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them [581] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent ● [587] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[80]

562 Woman, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act 562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry, 589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

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[80] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 451). *Zurita* ("*Rapport, etc.,*" pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, on les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 125), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Zurita*, (p. 125), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco,*" Part III, cap. III, p. 213), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was also regarded as a reprobate.[81] 562 559

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship*. Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82] 689

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live*. Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave*. 565 567

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

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[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 397): "A gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli comunicherebble mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscesse che il fario gli potesse metter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III. p. 396), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X. cap. XV, p. 57); *Zurita* (p. 129). *If a girl abandoned her house, she might* finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Zurita* (p. 86): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 84): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, on lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib: IV, cap. XV, p. 125). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p 486).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 486).